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ABSTRACT

Based on the premises that one's self-concept is the major motivator of human behavior, and that religious beliefs influence self-perceptions, this paper explores various relationships between socio-religious attitudes and their impact on female self-image. A group of 61 female teacher education students responded to a questionnaire assessing their agreement or disagreement with patriarchal religious concepts. The high degree of agreement with statements reflecting patriarchal views of women and traditional sex roles suggests serious concern that women educators may continue to foster sexist attitudes toward women into the next century. (Author)

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FEMALE SELF-IMAGE IN RELATION TO PATRIARCHAL RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS: A STUDY OF SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AMONG FEMALE TEACHER-EDUCATION STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

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I THE PROBLEM

According to Clifford Geertz, religious symbols shape a cultural ethos and define the deepest values of a society and its people. He describes religion as "a system of symbols which act to produce powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations" (Spretnak, 1982, p. 72) in the people of a given culture. In his context, a "mood" is a psychological attitude, such as trust, awe, respect, while a "motivation" is the social and political "trajectory created by a mood that transforms mythos into ethos, symbol system into social and political reality" (Spretnak, 1982, p. 72). Symbols, therefore, have both psychological and political effects in that they create inner conditions, i.e., deep-seated attitudes and feelings, that lead people to feel comfortable with or to accept social and political arrangements that correspond to the symbol system.

Because religion has had and continues to exert a compelling hold on the deep psyches of so many people, its effects cannot be assumed to remain outside the classroom door despite the American ideal of church-state separation. Throughout recorded mythology, the male has been viewed as normative, the female as a variant or deviation, i.e., man as Subject and woman as Other. Mythological constructs expose us to non-conscious ideologies that become embedded in our perceptual framework and produce an often permanent distortion of experiences and events (Hyde, 1980, p. 32). For example, the Adam and Eve myth conveys an image of

women as channels of evil so that resulting suspicions of female power and decision making "feel like" they correspond to reality, while, in effect, they emanate from a set of ideas unconsciously absorbed by us in story form.

Self-theorists believe that the majority of psychological problems are traceable to a poor or distorted self-concept. The self-concept is viewed as the major motivator of our behavior in that it functions as a perceptual screen between one's self and one's inner and outer world. If the major goal of education, in its broadest sense, is to help the students' self-perceptions move in the direction of genuine self-knowledge, self-acceptance and self-love, the self-concept of the educator becomes a key consideration in this process. Since the majority of elementary educators are female, this paper will focus on their attitudes toward and definitions of themselves and how these self-views may impact on their perceptions and expectations of student behavior. Primarily Catholic and Protestant students from the Philadelphia area were studied so that implications of the findings may have regional variations or limitations.

Psychologists from various theoretical perspectives agree that the self-concept is initially formed by reflected appraisals of significant others. Significant others often are parents, teachers and church leaders, who, to varying degrees, reflect and enforce societal expectations to children as they are being socialized. Since our society is based on the Judeo-Christian tradition, a study of women's self-image is embedded in the relationship with the church as a significant other.

Rosemary Radford Ruether, in her newest work, Womanguides, maintains that in their present form, the Old and New Testaments are "designed to erase women's existence as subjects and to mention women only as objects of male definition" (Ruether, 1985, p. ix). Women in these texts are viewed as the "other" in that their own being as human subjects is never at the center. This distinction between the male normative 'woman as other' vs. 'woman as self-defined' is a pivotal concept in assessing women's self-image and its formation through patriarchal religious definitions of women's existence. A description of psychological, educational and religious issues that cooperate to enslave or to free women is essential to the goal of fostering optimal human functioning in the next generation of students. The goal of this study is to highlight some of the hard questions that need to be addressed if women are to recover a lost sense of empowerment and self-sufficiency. Although the questionnaire data were obtained from undergraduate teacher-education students, the broader context of this paper emanates from women with whom the author has counseled, taught, conferenced, retreated and grown. The format of the paper is primarily descriptive and sociological in format in part due to the lack of "hard data." The areas open to further research will be examined as well as the implications of the current study.

II RELATED LITERATURE

Women, Religion and Self-Image

Jungian, as well as other theoretical frameworks, depicts myths as representing important sources of information about the human psyche. In her book, When God Was A Woman, Merlin Stone demonstrates how myths present ideas that guide perception and condition us to think and perceive in a particular way. Our ethics, morals, conduct, values, sense of duty, sense of humor, and sense of what is natural or unnatural may be developed from childhood parables and fables. In her extensive study of archeological sites and ancient religious artifacts, Stone suggests that myths and legends emanating from a religion in which the deity was female and revered as wise, valiant, powerful and just, provided very different images of womanhood than do those which we are offered by the male-oriented religions of today (Stone, 1976, p. 5).

The transformation of religious myths to correspond to political ideology is clearly described by Spretnak in her book, Lost Goddesses of Early Greece. For example, the classical Greek myth of Pandora evokes a familiar image of a woman opening her great jar and spewing disease, misery and death upon humankind. Spretnak contrasts this patriarchal view of woman as 'beautiful evil' to the pre-classical Pandora, form of the Earth Goddess, pictured on ancient vessels as a figure rising from the earth with outstretched arms as giver of all gifts (Spretnak, 1978, p.

53).

Since several statements in the questionnaire administered in this study involved references to the Adam and Eve myth, basic to the Judeo-Christian tradition, Stone's encounter with the impact of the Adam and Eve story on her self-image is quoted at length.

> As a child, I was told that Eve had been made from Adam's rib, brought into being to be his companion and helpmate, to keep him from being lonely. As if this assignment of permanent second mate, never to be captain, was not oppressive enough to my future plans as a developing member of society, I next learned that Eve was considered to be foolishly gullible. My elders explained that she had been easily tricked by the promises of the perfidious serpent. She defied God and provoked Adam to do the same, thus ruining a good thing--the previously blissful life in the Garden of Eden. Why Adam himself was never thought to be equally as foolish was apparently never worth discussing. But identifying with Eve, who was presented as the symbol of all women, the blame was in some mysterious way mine--and God, viewing the whole affair as my fault, chose to punish me by decreeing: "I will greatly multiply your pain in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children, yet your desire shall be for your husband and he shall rule over you" (Gen. 3:16).
>
> So even as a young girl, I was taught that, because of Eve, when I grew up I was to bear my children in pain and suffering. As if this was not a sufficient penalty, instead of receiving compassion, sympathy or admiring respect for my courage, I was to experience this pain with guilt, the sin of my wrongdoing laid heavily upon me as punishment for simply being a woman, a daughter of Eve. To make matters worse, I was also supposed to accept the idea that men, as symbolized by Adam, in order to prevent any further foolishness on my part, were presented with the right to control me--to rule over me. According to the omnipotent male deity, whose righteousness and wisdom I was expected to admire and respect with a reverent awe, men were far wiser than

> women. Thus my penitent, submissive position as a female was firmly established by page three of the nearly one thousand pages of the Judeo-Christian Bible (Stone, 1976, pp. 5-6).

In a detailed cross-cultural examination of ancient symbols, such as the serpent, tree of life, forbidden fruit and their relationship to sexual knowledge, i.e., paternity, Spretnak presents a compelling hypothesis: that the myth of Adam and Eve was designed as part of the political Levite battle to suppress female religions. Her research indicates a systematic attempt by the Levites to invalidate Goddess worship and describes the impact of this attack on women's psycho-political demise.

The images of woman beguiled by the serpent, childbirth pain as proof of her guilt, and subjugation to her husband as eternal payment for her defiance against a male deity exert powerful perceptual frameworks through which female power, sexuality and authority were viewed. Parts of the New Testament reinforce this view of female subjugation as in 1Timothy 2:11-14 which states: "During instruction, a woman should be quiet and respectful. I am not giving permission for a woman to teach or to tell a man what to do. A woman ought not to speak because Adam was formed first and Eve afterward, and it was not Adam who was led astray but the woman who was led astray and fell into sin. Nevertheless, she shall be saved by childbearing, provided she lives a modest life and is in constant faith and love and holiness" (The Jerusalem Bible 1968, p. 269 of NT).

In a study on role concepts and self-esteem in church women, Holcomb compared the importance or centrality of religion, concepts of women's role, and self-esteem. Results

indicated that women from more doctrinaire churches tended to consider religion more central in their lives and perceived their roles as women more conservatively. Among the three groups studied, doctrinaire, moderate, and non-doctrinaire, women in the most traditional group, as defined by demographic data, achieved the lowest mean score on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (Holcomb, Spring 1975).

How sexuality and spirituality are communicated by family and church and integrated into self-understanding was studied by Upp in her analysis of life-story interviews of 50 women and men, laypeople and seminarians. Data were gathered through two-hour life-story interviews as well as a workshop and retreat. She concluded that sexuality and spirituality are integrally related to one another and to self-concept and that the family and church can in specific ways more effectively nurture an open and responsible development and integration of these areas (Upp, 1981).

Ruether, in her book, Sexism and God-Talk, questions the overreliance of modern Christianity on the psychological model of God as Parent that suggests a kind of permanent parent-child relationship in which God becomes a neurotic parent who does not want his children to grow up. To become autonomous and responsible for one's own self and life is perceived as a grave sin against God, so that an outer-directed as opposed to inner-directed code of behavior is encouraged that perpetuates spiritual infantilism as a virtue (Ruether, 1983, p. 70).

Human parenting in a patriarchal context becomes the earthly counterpart to this heavenly model described by Ruether. When

women rebel against this God-ordained patriarchal social order, their rebellion is rejected as sick or abnormal in that they are unable to accept their role ordained by their Creator who knows what's best for them. What is an emotionally healthy step for women, i.e., refusal to acquiesce to male definitions of womanhood, becomes, under patriarchal religious interpretation, spiritual pathology.

The conflict that arises when religious institutions convey a view of spiritual 'goodness' that contributes to emotional ill-health in women is a crucial factor in a discussion of women's self-image. Ruether found that one of the most difficult barriers for Christian women to feminist consciousness, i.e., assertiveness, is the identification of sin with anger and pride and virtue with humility, self-abnegation, and self-sacrifice. She states that for women this ideology reinforces female subjugation and lack of self-esteem. Women become Christlike by having no self of their own, by becoming suffering servants through acceptance of male exploitation as God-ordained. Ruether suggests that women reevaluate the male ideology of pride and humility to include acceptance of anger and basic self-esteem (Ruether, 1983, p. 185).

In Womanspirit Rising, Carol Christ points out that Western culture encourages males in the assertion of will and thus it may make some sense to view the male form of sin as an excess of will. She suggests that since patriarchal cultures discourage females in the assertion of will, the traditional doctrine of sin and grace encourage women to remain in their form of sin which is

insufficient assertion of will or self-negation (Christ, 1979, pp. 283-284).

Carol Gilligan's book, In A Different Voice, also amply demonstrates that Western psychology and theories of moral development have been normed on male behavior and male experience. She documented a wide-spread erosion of self-confidence in females 11-19 years of age that she suggested may reflect the dearth or lack of a female perceptual framework in the outer environment. Her alarming description of how not only women's perceptions and judgments but also their motives are distorted by the patriarchal lens raises serious questions about women's emotional health and self-knowledge in a patriarchal world (Gilligan, 1982).

Women's psychological condition under patriarchy is further exacerbated in that male definitions of maturity are equated with autonomy, a condition systematically extinguished in women. Woman as perpetual child or an incomplete adult is the inevitable result of a system described by Ruether in which one gender attributes repressed and rejected aspects of itself onto the other gender. "The objectification of woman as bearer of repressed and negative parts of the male psyche involves the distortion of the being of both males and females" (Ruether, 1983, p. 174).

In his work, Spiritual Conflicts and Crises, Assagioli suggests that since World War II, spiritual crises have become mass phenomena affecting large groups of people. Symptoms of spiritual crisis include a sense of oppression caused by the immensity of the universe and resultant existential anxiety. His

conclusion that persistent unprejudiced search for meaning can turn a spiritual crisis into a spiritual awakening has profound implications for women's spirituality and self-actualization (Assagioli, 1975).

In a symposium on "Women in Religion--Stress and Religious Membership," the situations of women from Catholic, Mormon, Jewish, Seventh Day Adventist, liberbal Protestant, as well as unchurched backgrounds are examined in relation to stress and personal integrity (Burns, Spring-Summer 1982). Sonia Johnson, excommunicated from the Mormon Church for her public support of the Equal Rights Amendment, poignantly described her gradual realization of her betrayal by the church to whom she had given her trust for her identity and salvation:

> I went over to the room above the garage, locked myself in, and let God have it. I told him what I thought of a supreme being who had made women so full, so rich, so talented and intelligent, so eager for experience and so able to profit by it, and then put us in a little box, placed the lid on tightly and said, 'Now stay there honey!' I told him that was the most vicious, the ugliest, and ultimately the most evil act I could conceive of, and that if I could get hold of him I would kill him.
>
> I know this is shocking. But I was coming to grips with the ugliest, most insidious and damaging aspect of my enculturation. In our patriarchal world, we are all taught--whether we like to think we are or not--that God, being male, values maleness much more than he values femaleness (Richardson, 1983, p. 97).

Education and Attitude Change

In a study of future teachers' attitudes toward women, Panko (1979) administered a Likert-type scale questionnaire consisting of statements about women's rights and roles in vocational,

educational and intellectual activities; dating behavior and etiquette; sexual behavior; and marital relationships. Little significant difference was found between the attitudes of future teachers toward women and those of other students. Panko suggested that future teachers receive pre-service and in-service training to change their attitudes from acceptance of sex stereotypes so as to provide a bias-free education for their students.

Shulkin's work (May 1981) entitled Teacher Skill Guide for Combatting Sexism-Module 4 focuses on how teachers can structure classroom situations and activities to elicit a broader range of behaviors and skills. Her work is designed to heighten teacher awareness of structural elements that influence student behaviors and perceptions.

The task of heightening teacher awareness of sexist attitudes is a crucial link in the development of non-sexist public education. Ekhardt and Goldsmith (Fall 1984) administered the Bem Sex Role Inventory to 90 male and 114 female seminarians in Masters of Divinity programs at 11 protestant seminaries and to 26 male and 52 female Masters of Education students at two secular universities. Results indicated male seminarian BSRI responses did not differ from the female ones. However, male seminarians were higher in femininity and female seminarians higher in masculinity than the college men and women. The findings suggest a hypothesis that seminarians would be more androgynous and less same sex-typed than their education peers.

Balswick, Ward and Carlson (Fall 1975) studied theological

and sociological belief change among religiously conservative students over a period of four years. Although the students' theological beliefs remained essentially conservative, students experienced noticeable liberalization of ascetic moral and socio-political beliefs. If the researchers' suggestion that changes in socio-political and ascetic beliefs is not necessarily related to change in theological beliefs, the relationship between change in sex role attitudes and religious orientation also merits further exploration and clarification.

Williams' research (1982) raises further questions about the relationship of religious doctrine to personal beliefs and decisions. She found that although the religion-abortion relationship is often assumed to reflect the theology of various faiths in regard to the personhood of the fetus, neither conservative religious affiliation nor high religiosity were related to rejection of abortion. A comparison between Catholics and non-Catholics revealed differences in the expected direction, although the groups did not differ significantly in their perception of religious teachings concerning abortion.

Finally, Hartley and Taylor (Fall 1977) studied religious beliefs of clergy wives and found them quite willing to express religious beliefs that differed dramatically from the orthodox doctrines of their denominations. Education was found to be significantly related to belief patterns while also neutralizing expected age differentials.

Thus it appears that education may play a signficant role in attitude change and that religious beliefs may not change in synchrony with attitudinal change in other areas. However, since

religious doctrine and sex role attitudes are related and if teacher-education students' attitudes are more conservative than those of seminarians, the goal of achieving non-sexist public education in the U.S. does not appear imminent.

III METHOD

Subjects

Subjects included sixty-one female teacher-education students from West Chester University, a multi-purpose, medium sized (9,000 students- 500 faculty) university, 25 miles west of Philadelphia and 15 miles north of Wilmington. Students attending West Chester University are primarily from the Philadelphia metropolitan area and expect to live in Pennsylvania after graduation. Seventy percent of the sample was composed of Elementary Education majors and the remaining thirty percent were Special Education majors. All female Elementary Education and Special Education students taking a required Child Development course during the Spring 1985 semester were included in the sample. Fifty-seven percent identified themselves as Catholics, twenty-eight percent as Protestants, five percent as Jewish, and ten percent as Other. Ninety percent of the students were between 19 and 23 years of age while the remaining ten percent were between 28 and 42 years of age. Sophomores comprised sixty-four percent of the sample, juniors twenty-three percent, freshmen eight percent, and seniors five percent.

Data Collection

Students responded to a 37-statement questionnaire (Appendix 1) in which they were instructed to "agree" if they agreed more than disagreed with the statement or to "disagree" if they disagreed more than agreed with the statement. Items on the

questionnaire sampled attitudes toward the gender of the deity, Adam and Eve mythology, husband-wife relationship, deity-human relationship, damnation, personality attributes of women and men, mother-child relationship, and sex roles. Students completed the survey during a regular Child Development class after having studied a unit on moral-spiritual development designed to expose them to alternative moral-spiritual perspectives. Students did not record their names but did include their social security numbers. No time limit was imposed; however, students were instructed to register their "automatic or intuitive" responses rather than those that were carefully pondered or logically analyzed.

Data Analysis

For purposes of the current study, percentages of agreement or disagreement with each item were derived from response frequencies. Chi-square analyses were performed to find differences at the .05, .01. and .001 levels of significance. Responses were then grouped into tabular form according to their representation of traditional and non-traditional socio-religious attitudes.

IV FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Out of 37 statements on the questionnaire, 30 (81%) yielded differences at or above the .05 level, and 22 yielded differences at or above the .001 level. Table 1 contains items reflecting significant differences in both traditional and non-traditional attitudes.

Insert Table 1 about here

Table 2 contains the items reflecting traditional socio-religious attitudes held by female elementary and special education students. Out of the nine items (24% of total items) in Table 2, 7 (78%) yielded a difference at or above the .001 level of significance. Beliefs espoused included the Adam and Eve creation story; use of exclusively masculine imagery for the deity; viewing oneself as a child in relation to the deity; ignorance of earlier Goddess worship; belief that being overly willful is displeasing to God; support of patrilineal descent; and the belief that children should be taught some traditional sex roles lest their sexual identification become confused.

Insert Table 2 about here

Table 3 contains items reflecting the non-traditional

socio-religious attitudes held by the Ss. Out of the 21 items (57% of total items) included in Table 3, 15 (71%) were different at or above the .001 level. Traditional attitudes that were rejected included: male dominance in varied forms; Eve as the weaker sex and precursor of women's pain in childbirth; Adam as closer to God's image; damnation; women as unfit for religious leaders; traditional personality traits associated with males and females such as selflessness, dependence, rationality, spirituality; and women needing a husband and children to feel complete.

Some items need further clarification to correctly interpret the findings. For example, students may have had differing definitions of the word 'carnal' in item 19. Item 9 seems to indicate acceptance of female terms for the deity but may instead reflect Ss non-use of female forms of address. Results also need to be interpreted with awareness of the possible gap between subjects' written attitudinal assessments and their actual behavioral responses in situations testing those attitudes.

V DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

As indicated in formerly cited studies, clear-cut consistency does not necessarily exist between religious views and socio-political attitudes. While many traditional attitudes were espoused as expected given the religious and cultural background of the Ss, the students at least overtly signified agreement with a greater frequency of non-traditional than traditional items. However, item weighting and factor analysis, which will be the foci of a subsequent paper, may provide a different perspective on subjects' responses.

As discussed earlier, the Adam and Eve story provides a strong psychic backdrop to male-female relationships in Western society both in a religious and a secular context. Since this story has been used to impede mutuality and egalitarianism between the sexes, the strong belief in it by current prospective teachers may be cause for concern by those envisioning non-sexist public educational experiences for their children.

As educators, Ss indicated wide-spread ignorance of early Goddess religions which provide alternative traditions that support the full personhood of women. Ss primarily view and address the deity in male-identifed terms and see themselves as children of a supernatural male parental figure.

When ignorance of pre-patriarchal Goddess images is the norm, women's history, as described by Merlin Stone, becomes merely a "broken and buried fragment of a male culture" (Stone, 1976, xxv). These early images of the Goddess told women

that power, awesomeness and centrality were theirs by nature rather than by privilege or miracle. Psychologically, this affirmation of female power, the female body, the female will and women's bonds and heritage means the defeat of the view engendered by patriarchy, e.g., the Adam and Eve story, that woman's power is inferior and dangerous.

As discussed earlier, the concept of willfulness becomes a powerful psychological issue for women as defined within patriarchal contexts. Whereas males under patriarchal religious and societal systems have been characterized by an excess of will in need of tempering, females have been described as having insufficient will. Therefore, the traditional belief regarding willfulness espoused by this sample of female teacher-education students may interfere with their own personal development as well as with their ability to be non-sexist role models to their students.

Feminist literature abounds with relationships between paternity and patriarchal control of women's sexuality and humanness. Knowledge of matrilineal traditions has become lost as patriarchal political systems have conquered and become normative. The extremely strong support of patrilineal custom by prospective women teachers raises serious questions as to their political and psychological grasp of issues confronting women today. Perhaps most telling in terms of evaluating the sentiments of this sample of students is their strong (.001+) level of support for maintaining some traditional sex roles for fear of fostering confused sexual identity in children.

In a compelling article entitled "The Secret Fear That Keeps

Us From Raising Free Children," Pogrebin clearly traces the connections between homophobia, rigid sex roles and human oppression. "Homophobia, the malevolent enforcer of sex-role behavior, is the enemy of children because it does not care about children; it cares about conformity, differences, and divisions....It's all so painful. And so unnecessary. Eliminate sex-role stereotypes and you eliminate homophobia. Eliminate homophobia and you eliminate the power of words to wound and the power of stigma to mold a person into something she or he was never meant to be" (Richardson, 1983, p. 39).

Co-existing with these traditional views are a greater number of non-traditional attitudes that were espoused by the 61 Ss sampled. Students seem to be less acceptant of overt male dominance at home, church, and in the workplace. Although Ss consciously rejected many implications of the Adam and Eve story, Stone described how this myth pervades our culture at a deeper level: as a symbolic foundation of poems and novels; as a visual interpretation in oils of the great masters; and in all manner of products advertised using the 'woman as temptress' theme.

Ss also indicated disagreement with assigning personality traits according to gender such as dependence, selfishness, rationality and spirituality. Yet their emphasis on maintaining traditional sex roles indicates a philosophical conflict that may interfere with consistent, non-sex-stereotyped behavior. Since the questionnaire did not contain a 'fake good' index, it is impossible to state with certainty that Ss were not responding in ways to please the examiner and to appear enlightened. However,

since awareness is essential to any type of behavior change, there may be room for guarded optimism despite any underlying motivations on the Ss part. Although espousing many traditional religious attitudes, students, at least consciously, do not attribute the present world order of male domination to being part of God's cosmic design and seem to believe women in leadership roles would not be detrimental to the world situation. However, 31% of the sample were relieved that the ERA was defeated, an attitude that can be tranferred to students' concepts of themselves in myriad ways.

Overall, findings of the current study indicate a mixture of traditional and non-traditional socio-religious attitudes that suggest our future women educators are not in the forefront of psycho-political perspectives that might expand and re-define patriarchal concepts of femaleness. According to Stone, "It is only as many of the tenets of the Judeo-Christian theologies are seen in the light of their political origins, and the subsequent absorption of those tenets into secular life understood, that as women we will be able to view ourselves as mature, self-determining human beings" (Stone, 1976, xxvi).

Therefore, teacher-education programs might be aided in their stated goals of providing non-sexist learning programs by including courses in the psychology and politics of women's spirituality. Change will be permanent only when women reclaim their selfhood and self-esteem by acknowledging their compliance with the systems that have diminished their humanity. The price of ignorance and/or indecision is no less than that of women's identity as well as integrity.

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VII APPENDIX 1

Directions:

1) On the accompanying answer sheet, blacken an "A" if you agree with the statement more than you disagree with it. If you disagree with the statement more than you agree with it, blacken "B".

2) Your answer should reflect your first "automatic or intuitive" response rather than one that is carefully pondered or logically analyzed.

3) Please use a No. 2 pencil.

4) Include your SS#, sex, age, year in school in the appropriate spaces. Your name is optional.

5) Under "Special Codes", write the type of religious instruction you received as a child: Catholic; Protestant; Jewish; Other or None.

Statements:

1. The first people on this earth were Adam and Eve.

2. The serpent tempted Eve because she was weaker and more easily convinced than Adam would have been.

3. Woman was made from man in the beginning.

4. God has decreed that men rule over women in marriage.

5. The pain of childbirth is the punishment resulting from Eve's defiance of God's law.

6. Adam was made more in God's image than Eve.

7. I would rather work for a male than female boss.

8. When I talk to or about God, I use feminine as well as masculine names, e.g., Mother, Goddess, Father, God, etc.

9. I feel that I am insulting God when I say 'she', 'Mother', 'Goddess', or other female forms of address.

10. In relation to God, I see myself as a child.

11. If I make a decision that God does not agree with, I will get punished either on earth or after death.

12. People who do not obey God go to hell when they die.

13. God expects women to obey their husbands because husbands represent Christ.

14. Women seem to be more religiously obedient than men.

15. Long before human beings worshipped one God, they worshipped one Goddess.

16. God wants men to be priests in the Catholic Church and would be offended by priestesses.

17. Witchcraft gains its power from evil sources.

18. Women are more spiritual than men.

19. Women are more carnal than men.

20. Women are by nature more giving than men.

21. It is worse for a woman to be selfish than for a man to be selfish.

22. Men are more rational than women and make accurate decisions more easily.

23. The husband-wife relationship, rather than the mother-child relationship, is primary.

24. Christians and Jews teach that women and men are fully equal in worth but not in function or role.

25. Women need a husband and children to feel complete.

26. Femaleness is as divine and powerful as maleness.

27. Judaism and Christianity originated apart from political conditions and struggles.

28. Earlier Goddess religions were characterized by sexual depravity and excesses of various sorts and had to be forcefully stamped out.

29. I feel uncomfortable about present day religions led by women and would not participate in such practices.

30. When all is said and done, the present world order of male leadership is what God wants and, therefore, we shouldn't go "too far" in pushing for women's equality.

31. Under Judaism and Christianity, women have had more freedom and respect than under any previously existing religions.

32. God is displeased by disobedience and overly willful behavior on the part of His children.

33. If women had more political and economic power than men, the world situation would be even shakier than it presently is.

34. I am glad/relieved the Equal Rights Amendment was defeated.

35. Women are more naturally dependent than men and, therefore, too much equality may be harmful in the long run.

36. Children should carry their mother's surname since maternity is more certain than paternity.

37. Children should still be taught some traditional sex role behaviors; otherwise, their sexual identity may be confused.

APPENDIX II

Table 1

Teacher Education Students' Attitudes Reflecting Traditional and Non-Traditional Socio-Religious Views

	Item #	% Agree	% Disagree	% Difference
	1	79	21	58
	2	23	74	51
*	3	64	36	28
	4	16	84	68
	5	23	77	54
	6	25	75	50
*	7	34	66	32
	8	21	77	56
*	9	36	64	28
	10	79	21	58
	12	26	74	48
	13	8	92	84
*	14	36	64	28
	15	11	89	78
	16	26	74	48
	18	20	80	60
	19	15	85	70
	21	13	87	74
	22	13	87	74
	25	11	89	78
	26	95	5	90
*	28	33	66	33
*	29	34	64	30
	30	13	87	74
*	32	66	33	33
	33	16	84	68
*	34	31	67	36
	35	18	80	62
	36	10	89	79
	37	82	18	64

* Items different at or above .05 level.

Items different at or above .001 level.

Table 2

Teacher-Education Students' Attitudes Reflecting
Traditional Socio-Religious Views

	Item #	% Agree	% Disagree	% Difference
	1	79	21	58
*	3	64	36	28
	8	21	77	56
	10	79	21	58
	15	11	89	78
	18	20	80	60
*	32	66	33	33
	36	10	89	79
	37	82	18	64

* Significant at or above .05 level.
Significant at or above .001 level.

Table 3

Teacher Education Students' Attitudes Reflecting
Non-Traditional Socio-Religious Views

	Item #	% Agree	% Disagree	% Difference
	2	23	74	51
	4	16	84	68
	5	23	77	54
	6	25	75	50
*	7	34	66	32
*	9	36	64	28
	12	26	74	48
	13	8	92	84
	14	36	64	28
	16	26	74	48
	19	15	85	70
	21	13	87	74
	22	13	87	74
	25	11	89	78
	26	95	5	90
*	28	33	66	33
*	29	34	64	30
	30	13	87	74
	33	16	84	68
*	34	31	67	36
	35	18	80	62

* Significant at or above the .05 level.
Significant at or above the .001 level.